



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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July 19, 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO: D/HA - Ms. Patt Derian
THROUGH D/HA - Mr. Carlin
FROM: D/HA:ORM - Shep Lowman *SL*
SUBJECT: Zimbabwean Refugees in Mozambique

This is surely the most distressing refugee situation in the countries I visited. It has attracted the attention of the international press and has been visited by Senator Clark and others. I was questioned about the conditions in the Mozambique camps for Zimbabweans when testifying before Congressman Digg's subcommittee in March.

The situation is unique both to my own short experience in refugee work and to UNHCR officers whom I questioned, as well. The camps are largely made up of young people, including many children, not with their families. A census was taken of the camps by the GOM and the following figures supplied by UNHCR:

MAVUDZI - Population 3,575Age Group

0-5	311
6-10	236
10-15 (female)	908
10-18 (male)	220
19+ (includes 800-900 in family groupings)	1,900

TRONGA - Population 10,450

Age Group

7-12	2,000
13 & Over (female)	3,800
13 & Over (male)	4,000
Families	650

DOROI - Population 14,200

Age Group

under 6	800
6-14	4,00
15-20	8,000
21 and over	1,400

It is not clear why these young people come out alone. All observers agree these are refugees and not guerilla camps although ZANU is clearly active within the camps. It is difficult to assess the situation accurately since I was not able to visit the camps (the Embassy has had a request in for months to which the GOM has not responded) and access by other observers including the UNHCR is rather sharply limited.

Observers agree that Mavudzi Camp is fairly good, Tronga Camp is lacking many requirements but fairly well organized and Doroi Camp chaotic and one of the worst they have ever seen. Mavudzi presumably benefits from its smaller size and greater number of families. Tronga apparently benefits from much greater ZANU activity which has organized the camp into para-military type units (battalions, etc.). Military training, however, is not going on and, though there is said to be some recruitment from the camp to ZANU military training camps, the age of those remaining supports the claim that these are civilian camps. Indeed, a para-military type organization seems the only possible answer for handling this many young people abroad without their families.

Doroi camp is reported to be extremely bad; one UN auditor characterized it as the worst he had ever seen. The chaotic organization of the camp and the listless dispirited manner of its many young residents strikes all observers sharply. Additionally, the camp is seriously lacking in medical and other basic minimum requirements. The problems of the camp stem partly

from its size and from the hurried way in which it was organized when refugees were abruptly pulled back from a camp nearer the border which was attacked by Rhodesian security forces. The trauma of that attack, in which over 800 refugees were reported killed, is cited as a negative factor at Doroï Camp.

A major problem, of course, is the Marxist nature of the GOM. This has caused them to eliminate from the Government most Portuguese technicians and many of their own trained people as well. This leaves the GOM with an extremely thin infrastructure to deal with immensely difficult organizational and economic problems of its own. Refugees, obviously, rank pretty low on its list of priorities. Typical Marxist paranoia has also led the GOM, so far, to reject outside assistance and expertise though this has been offered by the UNHCR, LICROSS, ICRC, the Swedish Government and others. This position appears not to be shared by ZANU. Deputy Secretary General Simon Muzenda told me ZANU favored open camp administration and acceptance of outside assistance but noted that the GOM must make the final decision. In working with the UNHCR, however, some of the lower ranking ZANU people have undermined UNHCR efforts to introduce foreign technicians by insisting that there are qualified Zimbabweans available; i.e., doctors, teachers. However, these have not so far been supplied in adequate quantity.

The UNHCR is headed by Acting Rep. Sergio De Melo, a young man but one who appears both competent and knowledgeable. The UNHCR Eastern and Southern African Division Chief in Geneva, Mr. M'Kanda, told me he had been informed by GOM officials that they considered DeMelo too junior and would not deal in a meaningful way with UNHCR until someone more experienced was appointed. DeMelo's Brazilian (Portuguese) background may also work against him in this situation though this was not raised. M'Kanda takes the GOM position seriously and is presently seeking an appropriate permanent representative for Maputo. This may be a partial explanation for UNHCR's difficulties. Certainly they have been severely handicapped by lack of GOM cooperation, waiting once for 2 1/2 months to get permission to visit the camps.

There are some signs that the situation may be improving:

1. UNHCR has been given somewhat readier access to the camps recently.
2. Tronga Camp has become better organized.
3. Efforts by the GOM to reorganize Doroi Camp are currently underway.
4. The UNHCR and ZANU requested the GOM to allow the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to work in the camps as the UNHCR's operating partner. While this request has not yet been answered, LWF has been given permission to open an office in Maputo--a step forward.
5. Regular coordination meetings are now held attended by government Ministries of Development, Interior, Health, Agriculture, Public Works and Education; international organizations, including UNHCR, WFP, UNDP and WHO; the principal liberation movement, represented in Mozambique, ZANU; and by donors such as the Swedes and Dutch, though I don't know if this latter is official or private.
6. The GOM appears to be looking towards more long range solutions. Lourenco Mutaka of the Ministry of Development told me this and DeMelo say the Minister of Agriculture is currently at Doroi Camp to develop plans for greater self sufficiency on the part of the refugees. All three camps reportedly have adequate land available to develop substantial agricultural production.
7. Most hopeful is the pending reorganization of the administration of refugee programs within the GOM. Previously, this was centered in the Ministry of Interior, which showed

almost no interest, with some responsibilities in the Ministry of Development, which is more positive. A new National Directorate of Refugees is to be established which will be attached to the Office of the President and headed by a member of the Central Committee. The attitude of the new Director will be of critical importance, but if he wants to be helpful, he will be in a position to act decisively. The signs are good. Mutaka describes President Machel as personally interested in the situation of the refugees and states that one of the first decisions to be taken by the new Directorate will be the utilization of foreign expertise. Mutaka claims that, if such expertise is needed, it will be accepted but also professes to believe that most such needs can be met by the GOM or from ZANU personnel resources.

The UNHCR has asked for \$2 million for Mozambique from the recent \$16 million appeal for Southern African Refugees. DeMelo breaks this down roughly as; \$1 million for foreign procurement of items needed on an urgent basis for the basic care and maintenance of the refugees (shoes, blankets, medicines, etc.); \$350,000 for local recurring needs other than food; and \$650,000 to be devoted to projects establishing better plant and greater self-sufficiency.

Over and above the \$2 million, DeMelo sees a requirement for about \$350,000 for food. The WFP is providing a part of the refugees requirements but only in the form of nutritional supplements. The staple diet has been purchased locally by the GOM, reimbursed from a contribution by the Swedish Government of \$5 million Kroner (approximately \$1.2 million). This fund will be exhausted in September/October and UNHCR estimates the cost of staples for the last quarter at \$350,000. UNHCR notes, however, that even if funds are available, developing shortages may make local procurement impossible. DeMelo, therefore, asked that we explore the possibility of PL 480 food aid.

The ICRC has also appealed for about \$750,000 for Mozambique from a total appeal of almost \$3 million for Southern Africa. Both here and in Botswana (and probably elsewhere) the ICRC appeal appears to overlap that of UNHCR. Since the latter is our principal instrument in refugee situations, I believe we should not consider a separate response to ICRC specifically for Mozambique though we may wish to make a small unearmarked contribution in response to their appeal for Southern Africa. I will provide a separate memo on this point.

Despite the character of the GOM, the make-up and conditions in these camps present extremely compelling humanitarian requirements. The United States Government, however, has little leverage in this situation. In my talk with Muzenda (ZANU) and Mutaka (GOM), I stressed that while the USG would view the UNHCR appeal sympathetically, our contribution would be influenced by (1) regular access to the camps for monitoring purposes of a recognized international relief agency and (2) the willingness of the GOM to utilize foreign expertise. I added that, while I believed international opinion was such that adequate funds for this program could probably be raised by the UNHCR if they had reasonable access to the camps I thought other foreign donors would also be influenced by these considerations.

Given the hopeful signs mentioned above and the extreme nature of the need, I believe that we should proceed with a contribution to assist the UNHCR in the latter half of 1977. Present emergency funds are limited. Thus, we might wish to make a more limited contribution initially; perhaps \$400,000. If other contributions have not been inadequate to meet the \$2 million requirement by October, we could consider a further contribution out of replenished emergency funds provided for FY 1978.

Recommendations:

-- That we include \$400,000 for Mozambique in an overall request for Presidential Determination emergency funds for African refugees.

Approve P

Disapprove

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-- That we consider a further contribution in early FY 1978 if needed.

Approve P

Disapprove _____

-- That we explore the possibility of providing up to \$350,000 in PL 480 food aid in staple items, probably through the WFP.

Approve P

Disapprove _____

-- That we take steps to inform the GOM of our contribution to the UNHCR program.

Approve P

Disapprove _____

-- That we make it clear to both UNHCR, ZANU¹ and the GOM that our contribution in CY 1978 will be dependent upon progress being made in improving the management of the camps, greater utilization of available foreign expertise and increased self-sufficiency on the part of the refugees.

Approve P

Disapprove _____

¹ Part of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) is based in Mozambique; its leadership is claimed by Robert Mugabe.